DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 334 584 CS 212 951

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TITLE Dialogues of Deliberation: Conversation in the Teacher-Student Writing Conference. Technical Report No. 48.

INSTITUTION Center for the Study of Writing, Berkeley, CA.; Center for the Study of Writing, Pittsburgh, PA.

SPONS AGENCY Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.

PUB DATE May 91

CONTRACT RI17G00036

NOTE 32p.

PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS Case Studies; Classroom Communication; Classroom Research; Discourse Analysis; *English Instruction; Ethnography; Grade 9; Junior High Schools; *Teacher Student Relationship; *Writing Instruction; *Writing Processes; Writing Research

IDENTIFIERS Conversation; *Writing Conferences

ABSTRACT

As part of a larger study of teacher-student conferences, a study examined naturally occurring one-to-one writing conference conversations between a ninth-grade English teacher (recommended as an excellent writing teacher) and three markedly different students. The study examined students' grapplings with the structure as well as the content of their writing, and it examined talk that by usual measures looks teacher-dominated, to ask how in the writing conference different students engage in the process of writing and learning to write. Data included field notes, audio and video tapes of teacher-student conferences and all other class activities, all writing from the three students, and interviews with the three students and the teacher. Results indicated that: (1) the force of participants' conference input effectively manipulated talk and the consequences of talk as participants enacted the dramas of composing; (2) all three students differed in the ways in which they encountered their teacher, and this variety reflects how individual composing processes are marked by diverse and changing encounters with others. Findings suggest that it makes little sense either for students or teachers to homogenize instructional talk and that productive talk need not be extended or memorable talk. (Three figures of students' essay drafts are included; 40 references and a transcription key are attached.) (RS)

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ED334584

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The publication of this report was funded by grant number R117G00036 from the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education (OERI/ED) for the National Center for the Study of Writing and Literacy. However, the opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the OERI/ED and no official endorsement by the OERI/ED should be inferred.

This publication was produced on an Apple Macintosh IIsi computer with portrait display monitor and an Apple LaserWriter IIntx printer donated to the National Center for the Study of Writing and Literacy by Apple Computer, Inc.

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Abstract

This article examines, through case study portraits, naturally occurring one-to-one writing conference conversations between a ninth grade English teacher and three students in his class. Suggesting a broadened model of effective writing conference instruction, this article considers those composing processes that appear to be privileged in the conference context when different students are learning to write. The focus is on the dialogic nature of markedly contrasting conversations, demonstrating that while dialogue wears many guises and while the give and take between teacher and student can be fleeting and "forgettable," the conversational context contributes to a deliberative process critical to the process of composing. Methodology for the research on which this article is based drew on ethnographic techniques combined with discourse analysis of writing conference conversation.

Author's Note

Funding for this project was provided through a grant by the National Council of Teachers of English.

I wish to thank Sheridan Blau, Robbie Case, Russel Durst, Sarah Warshauer Freedman, Carol Heller, Milbrey McLaughlin, and the editors of *Written Communication* for their sensitive readings of earlier drafts of this manuscript. I also thank Mr. Peterson for access to his conferences and to his classroom.

DIALOGUES OF DELIBERATION: CONVERSATION IN THE TEACHER-STUDENT WRITING CONFERENCE

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Stanford University

In a passage from Philip Roth's *The Ghost Writer*, the distinguished E.I. Lonoff—modeled in part after novelist Isaac Singer—describes to the young writer Nathan Zuckerman what is perhaps a familiar struggle:

> I turn sentences around. That's my life. I write a sentence and then I turn it around. Then I look at it and I turn it around again. Then I have lunch. Then I come back in and write another sentence. Then I read the two sentences over and turn them both around. Then I lie down on my sofa and think. Then I get up and throw them out and start from the beginning. And if I knock off from this routine for as long as a day, I'm frantic with boredom and a sense of waste.

We may recognize, in this fictional passage, a composing process—dramatic in its literary rendition. For those who study composing in the context of teaching and learning in school, this fictional drama helps point to a familiar real-world cognitive drama and suggests questions of theoretical interest about the process of learning to write: What are the origins, in this scene, of the implicitly expressed internal drama, the internal dialogue, that motivates the turning around of sentences? Where do the criteria of judgment and evaluation come from that force throwing sentences out, starting over again, starting draft two, or three, or four? What is the source of the apparent acceptance that give-and-take, push-and-pull, are routine to writing? Can sensitivity to the dialogue of deliberation be taught? Is this conversation really a dialogue with the self, or is it in fact a dialogue crowded with others for whom the self has come to stand? Are there classroom analogues to the tacit discourse that exhausts Lonoff in his composing of text?

These questions concern the social construction of written language and are premised on Vygotsky's notion that internalized dialogue is the raw material of thought. The last question especially mirrors much current research on the dynamics of classroom interactions as these interactions impinge on students' learning to write (see, for example, Daiute & Dalton, 1988; Dyson, 1989; Freedman, with Greenleaf & Sperling, 1987). In the present article, I explore one kind of classroom interaction, the teacher-student writing conference—that is, the private conversation between teacher and student about the student's writing or writing processes. In examining what such interaction looks like for different students, I argue for an expanded notion of what constitutes productive teacher-student talk in the context of writing instruction. I suggest that such an expanded notion can help us understand the variable social drama of the composing process, allowing us to theorize more broadly than has traditionally been the case on the cognitive drama of that process (as described, for example, by Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1982; deBeaugrande, 1984; Flower & Hayes, 1981; Perl, 1979; Witte, 1987). For cognition, one may reasonably argue, is rooted in social processes, in the verbal and non-verbal give and take that inhere in confronting, in one's world, the "other" (Bakhtin, 1981; Vygotsky, 1962, 1978), and such confrontations are not only contextually constrained, they are infinitely variable (see, e.g., Gumperz, 1982).

THE INTERACTIVE NATURE OF LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Documentation abounds to support the theory that language acquisition and development are interactive and constructive processes (see, e.g., Bruner, 1978; Cazden, 1983; Cook-Gumperz, 1979; Halliday, 1975). Language concepts are dynamically shaped by the verbal and non-verbal cues exchanged between novice and expert—for example, child and parent, student and teacher, peer and more knowledgeable peer—*in situ*, which is to say, in a social context. (Cazden, 1983, for instance, describes a toddler's acquisition of the semantics of "peek-a-boo" as toddler and mother interact over time around this common childhood game.) Furthermore, the instructional process is not only interactive but also reciprocal, for experts as well as novices may recast and revise their knowledge in the process of instruction (see, e.g., Wertsch, 1984).[1]

It is not surprising that teacher-student writing conferences, which theoretically capitalize on one-to-one interaction, have for some years been generally regarded by both instructors and students as an especially effective form of writing instruction (see, e.g., Blenski, 1976; Cooper, 1976; Freedman, et al., 1987; Graves, 1983; Knapp, 1976; Murray, 1979; Rose, 1982; Walters, 1984). Ironically, in contrast to anecdotal accounts, much of the research on such conferences has uncovered what appear to be "dialogic flaws" that disturb our beliefs about their benefits to diverse students. For example, in much of this research, conference effectiveness is evaluated by the amount as well as the kind of input coming from each participant. When the teacher talks "too much," for instance, and the student "too little," student learning is believed to be jeopardized (see, e.g, Jacobs & Karliner, 1977; Walker & Elias, 1987). When a teacher consistently focuses on low-level concerns such as mechanics with some students to the exclusion of more meaty matters such as ideas or the content of writing, these students are seen to "miss out" (see, e.g, Freedman, 1981; Freedman & Sperling, 1985). Research has also focused on ways in which writing conferences are the joint products of teacher and student input—what one participant says or does affects what the other says or does (a student's inappropriate backchannel cues, for example, may adversely affect the ease with which teacher and student sustain conference talk; a student's asking of teacher-pleasing questions may invite a sustained flow of instructional information—see Freedman & Sperling, 1985). Such observations sensitize us to differences in instruction that may result when teachers and different students converse and to the ways in which it takes two—that is, teacher and student together—to do the instructional tango of the writing conference (on this point, see, also, Florio-Ruane, 1986; Ulichny & Watson-Gegeo, 1989).

But, as I wish to demonstrate in the next sections of this article, effective "dialogue" can wear many guises, not always chatty, not always verbal (see Stone, 1989), not always geared toward the "meat." And different students, who bring apparently differing linguistic facility to their conversations with their teacher, differing goals for interacting with the teacher, differing concepts of what it means to "do school," and differing writing skills to master, will talk differently to their teacher about their writing. The present study asks us to fit these differences into a broadened model of effective writing conference instruction. It suggests that writing conferences invite such processes as deliberation about text and asks us to consider those processes that appear to be privileged in the conference context. For such processes may be critical classroom analogues to the internal cognitive processes of composing.

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[1]Because interaction and reciprocity appear to lie at the core of teaching and learning, the "scaffold" metaphor that has commonly been used to capture the essence of interactive instruction has been criticized for giving too one-sided a picture of the process. (See, e.g, Cazden, 1983, 1988; Stone, 1989.)

I focus on three ninth graders in one English class as they converse with their teacher about their ongoing writing. I have selected markedly different students—including a very quiet student and a very talkative one—engaging in markedly different types of interaction with the same teacher. The study examines students' grapplings with the structure as well as the content of their writing, and it examines talk that by usual measures looks teacher-dominated, in order to ask how in the writing conference context different students engage in the processes of writing and learning to write.

CASE PORTRAITS

The Teacher and the Classroom

The data presented in this section represent part of a larger study of teacher-student conferences that I undertook in the classroom described below (Sperling, 1988; for a detailed description of the setting and participants of this study, see Sperling, 1990). My focus is Mr. Peterson's ninth-grade English class. Chosen for study from among many teachers recommended as excellent teachers of writing, Mr. Peterson created for his ninth graders a classroom rich in language activity and play—including readings from the popular press to the classics, in-class and out-of-class essay writing, teacher-student written correspondence, small group writing collaborations, teacher response and peer response to writing-in-process, class discussion around students' written drafts, in-class language games to encourage writing creativity, and, central to this study, regularly occurring teacher-student writing conferences, lasting anywhere from under a minute to over fifteen minutes. Mr. Peterson's goal for his students' writing was to help them to think critically and creatively about their own worlds and about the worlds created in the literature that they read in his class (see Sperling & Freedman, 1987). This goal was apparent in his writing conferences with the students.

The Writing Assignments

During the period when I observed his class, Mr. Peterson assigned essays that asked his students to analyze people, both real and fictional, and to characterize them in detail. These assignments required careful observation, through personal interaction or through readings, of friends for the first essay, famous people in the popular culture or political arena for the second essay, and characters in *Great Expectations* for the third. Students wrote multiple drafts for each assigned character study and received a grade when they and Mr. Peterson agreed that a draft was indeed the final draft. During the extended time given for each of these assignments, they also produced short paragraphs as well as group writings as practice for the main assignment. They received response to their work from Mr. Peterson's written comments on their drafts, from peer group discussion, and from their conferences with Mr. Peterson.

Data Collection

I observed this class every day for six weeks. I collected field notes; audio and video tapes of teacher-student conferences, which were later transcribed and analyzed; audio and video tapes of all other class activities; all writing, including essay drafts, from six students selected to represent the range of students in this class; and interviews with three of the students and the teacher.[2] As one part of the study, descriptive analyses based on the collected data were written on all the case study students.

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[2]The three interviewed students were selected prior to data collection; long after data collection, the three others were selected for study, but too much time had passed to collect timely interviews with them.

In this article, I present portions from the case narratives for three contrasting students—Misa, Donald, and Lisa—as they engaged in conferences with Mr. Peterson during the drafting of their character studies. These students appeared to have differing ideas of what conference conversation would accomplish for them, and their talk showed them to interact quite differently from one another when conversing with the teacher. It is tempting to connect their diversity to their writing ability, to the quality of their instruction, or to both. But in presenting these contrasting cases, I wish momentarily to set aside such judgments in order to focus on the nature of the social processes these students engaged in as they drafted their essays. The quality of the teacher-student interactions may not be immediately linked or linkable to all the students' written products, and the interactions may not conform to everyone's "ideal" of instructional dialogue. However, as the case descriptions indicate, the interactions reveal the force of the conference process in learning to write. I describe typical conference talk for each student, and, when possible, set this talk in the context of the teacher's and student's goals and expectations for interacting with one another in the course of writing instruction.

Conference Talk as Appropriation and Discovery: Misa

Misa was characteristically quite vocal in conferences with Mr. Peterson. An Asian-American, Misa evidenced in her writing both her family's Chinese language background and her novice-like awkwardness—the latter a characteristic shared by others in her ninth-grade class. The language issue often surfaced in her conferences: while she focused in many of her conferences on generating and selecting ideas to develop in her essays, in others she worked for long stretches of time to match her syntax to that of standard English. In both these endeavors, she vocally solicited Mr. Peterson's help. During their conferences, she often initiated topics to discuss as well as questions and comments regarding different topics; in this regard, she differed from the other students, who tended not to do such initiating. In an interview, Mr. Peterson said that in contrast to the way he perceived his conversations with the other case study students, he felt conferencing with Misa was "a collaborative effort." In conferences, Misa and Mr. Peterson both assumed recognizably vocal roles.

This characteristic is illustrated in Misa's conference with Mr. Peterson concerning her essay on Princess Diana of England. The essay was written for the assignment to write a character study of a famous person. Mr. Peterson told the class that everyone needed some help with this paper; he wanted to talk to each of them to get their writing closer to the kind of character study they had produced when they wrote the essay preceding this assignment, a character study of a friend. The earlier assignment, of course, had been an easier task: they had simply (perhaps not so simply) to observe and assess the character traits of someone they knew well and saw often. For this assignment they were to do some library research and still come up with an essay that was original, that included personal insights and avoided cultural stereotypes, about someone they had never met.

Mr. Peterson told students they were free to consult with him one at a time on these papers, but because there was not enough class time for accomplishing such meetings with each student, some students, including Misa, went to his office outside class time for their conferences. The students who went to his office got longer conferences than the ones who talked to him in class. Misa's conference lasted over four minutes, in contrast to the in-class conferences that sometimes lasted one minute or even less.

In conference, Misa and Mr. Peterson discussed her first draft, on which Mr. Peterson had written some comments (see Figure 1). Like most of her conferences, this one was marked by Misa's and Mr. Peterson's productive appropriation of each other's talk: they almost stepped on each other's lines as they constructed sentences and ideas

Title: A

Baby blue eyes peeking from behind her side
swept hair, a true English lady's
peaches and cream complexion is displayed by
Her soft pastel off-the-shoulders silk
evening gown. On her wrist and neck are
matching bracelet and choker made of genuine
pearls and dazzling diamonds. Also, a sapphire
engagement ring encircled by fourteen
diamonds which adorns her fourth finger. If
you still haven't guess yet, she is the
princess of Wales, Lady Diana.
Princess
Lady Diana's warmth radiates out
naturally from within. She easily wins
the hearts of the world, especially the
affections of small children. Simon
Edwin, a little boy informs the princess

Figure 1. Draft of Misa's paper on Princess Diana, first page.

together, leading to Misa's discovery of how to recast her prose—of how to turn her sentences around. The following excerpt is representative. Misa and Mr. Peterson discussed the first two sentences in Misa's text: (1) "Baby blue eyes peeking from behind her side swept hair, sits a true English lady." Next to this sentence on her draft Mr. Peterson had written the comment, *Add the word that will make this a sentence.* He had also crossed out the "ing" of "peeking." (2) "Her peaches and cream complexion is display by her soft pastel off-the-shoulders silk evening gown." Next to this sentence Mr. Peterson had written *Try using dress as the subject.* Mr. Peterson read the text aloud, mumbling through the reading; Misa initiated the interaction:[3]

(1) M: Do I have-=

(2) T: =No no no no no no.
What you want is another sub'ject.

(3) M: Another subject?

(4) T: Yeah.
She sits',

(5) M: (softly spoken) Oh.

(6) T: You could say she sits like' a true
English lady,
if you want-
You need a subj- see.=

(7) M: (brightly) =Oh you want to end' the sentence.

(8) T: Yeah,
right.
And start a new sentence.=

(9) M: (still brightly) =And you want . . turn' this around.
so- so-
[
(10) T: So that your "her—',
peaches and cream complexion",
So what would the subject be.
. . .
Instead of "her peaches and cream complexion,
is displayed by her soft"-
[
(11) M: Make it like her soft pink off-the-shoulder
silk evening gown,
[
(12) T: is-
[
(13) M: is displayed'=

[3]A key to the symbols used in the transcriptions is provided in Appendix 1.

(14) T: =No- just displays'.
[
(15) M: no- displays',
displays' her peaches and cream complexion.

(16) T: Right.

As Mr. Peterson read Misa's paper aloud, Misa read along silently, taking in both her own text and Mr. Peterson's written comments. Beginning with the first sentence and the first comment, their turns latched and overlapped at a number of junctures as they mutually set up and completed ideas (turns 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15). By the end of the exchange, they were saying the same thing at the same time (turns 12 and 13; 14 and 15) as, together, they turned Misa's sentences around.

They began by negotiating the problem of the dangling phrase, "Baby blue eyes peeking from behind her side swept hair, sits . . . . " Mr. Peterson wanted Misa to make her one long and ungrammatical sentence into two, inserting a real sentence subject, "she," to correct the grammar. He attempted to clarify his written comment *Add the word that will make this a sentence* by saying, "What you want is another sub'ject" (turn 2). It appears that Misa did not follow this grammatical terminology, for she asked, quizzically, "Another subject?" (turn 3). In fact, this response was entirely appropriate if Misa was wondering whether by "subject" Mr. Peterson meant "topic." Her question evoked from Mr. Peterson an illustration of what he meant rather than more grammatical terminology: "Yeah, she sits" (turn 4), but still, as evidenced by her softly spoken "oh" (turn 5), Misa only partially grasped his meaning. Apparently sensing Misa's need for more explanation, Mr. Peterson elaborated on and repeated the information from his previous turn—"You could say she sits like' a true English lady" (turn 6). Misa began to catch on, for she reinterpreted his words with her own, her tone now bright rather than tentative: "Oh, you want to end' the sentence" (turn 7). While refocusing the solution to her grammar problem, Misa's words nonetheless indicated that she now knew what was needed (clearly, not a change in topic). Mr. Peterson confirmed her response by extending it: "Yeah, . . . and start a new sentence" (turn 8). Apparently satisfied with the solution to this problem, Misa dropped this concern and this portion of her text to proceed to the next, her turn latching onto his (turn 9) as she initiated the next topic, how to change the second sentence.

Misa seemed to have no trouble in understanding Mr. Peterson's comment regarding this second sentence, for she read into his words *Try using dress as the subject* a prescription for how to achieve an acceptable sentence revision: "And you want to turn' this around so-" (turn 9). In effect tacitly affirming her interpretation of what was needed, Mr. Peterson picked up on Misa's train of thought and began to complete this thought by composing his own revision of her text (turn 10), but he turned his composing into a teacherly question: "So that 'her— peaches and cream complexion,' so what would the subject be? Instead of 'her peaches and cream complexion is displayed by her soft-'," and Misa interrupted, doing her own composing and providing a new sentence subject: "Make it like her soft pink off-the-shoulder silk evening gown . . . " (turn 11). Misa and Mr. Peterson simultaneously proceeded to complete this predication, Mr. Peterson's chiming in (turn 12) a signal that Misa was on the right track. However, they both attempted this completion erroneously with the words, "is displayed" (turns 12 and 13). Nearly simultaneously, they caught this error and repaired it: Mr. Peterson's "no" (turn 14) appeared to spark Misa's recognition of the error as she quickly echoed his "no" with her own (turn 15), overlapping his turn. Then they both, again simultaneously, completed their utterances, emphasizing the repaired "displays" (turns 14 and 15), and Misa proceeded to complete the full, revised predication, still emphasizing the repair ("displays'"), without losing a single conversational beat: "No- displays', displays' her

peaches and cream complexion." Mr. Peterson confirmed this oral revision: "Right" (turn 16).

As their talk latched and overlapped, Mr. Peterson sparked Misa's recognition and subsequent appropriation of his messages. Their exchanges illustrate the kind of jockeying and negotiation that we associate with "true collaboration." They resemble, too, the internal give and take observed when writers compose "local" text revisions (as described by protocol analysis studies, for example). Notably, this segment of talk led to two other exchanges in which Misa and Mr. Peterson worked on sentence structure, and Misa initiated both exchanges as she saw the parallel between the problems in her first two sentences and those in the sentences that followed them.

Example 1. Misa and Mr. Peterson focused on the sentence, "On her wrist and neck are matching bracelet and choker made of genuine pearls and dazzling diamonds." There was no written comment next to this sentence. Misa began the exchange:

M: And this one's the same? [i.e. a sentence whose subject needs to be shifted]
[
T: Ok,
and the same thing here.

Example 2. Misa and Mr. Peterson focused on the sentence, "Also, a sapphire engagement ring is encircled by fourteen diamonds which adorns her fourth finger," next to which Mr. Peterson had written the comment *Try diamonds as the subject.* Misa began:

M: Is this the same, [i.e. another sentence whose subject needs to be shifted]

Mr. Peterson replied, ending his turn with an implicit lesson on verbs:

T: Yeah,
Or you can get this "encircles" here' too.
[Mr. Peterson continued to talk about the verb "encircles," comparing it to "display" which appeared earlier. He then finished his turn:]
. . . the main' thing is- just try- just like you practice reversing uh,

M: Oh here.

T: reversing and putting it in- putting that' stuff in the active voice.

In her final draft, Misa's prose looked like this:

> Baby blue eyes peek from behind her side swept hair. There she sits like a true English lady. Her soft pastel off-the-shoulders silk evening gown displays her peaches and cream complexion. On her wrist and neck are matching bracelet and choker made of genuine pearls and dazzling diamonds. Fourteen diamonds encircles the sapphire engagement ring which adorns her fourth finger.

Conference conversation merged with composing as Misa turned her sentences around and discovered while doing so the messages behind Mr. Peterson's comments on her syntax. Misa's written text, then, was shaped by the sometimes vigorous push and pull of her conversation.

Conference Talk as Rehearsal and Mastery: Donald

Like Misa, Donald is Asian-American, but in contrast to Misa his writing showed no nonstandard linguistic features characteristic of this background. As with the other ninth graders in his class, however, his writing revealed certain skills yet to be mastered, for example, appropriateness and consistency of verb tense. Also, as with the other students, Mr. Peterson spent conference time with Donald both on these kinds of grammatical issues and on the content of his writing. Yet, in contrast to Misa, Mr. Peterson saw in Donald someone who, as he told me in an interview, was difficult to talk to because he was "hard to draw out." He was not, in Mr. Peterson's eyes, a collaborator, and, Mr. Peterson admitted, his own "heart sank" when he was faced with talking one-to-one with this quiet interlocutor. In fact, Donald was often completely silent for long stretches of conference time with Mr. Peterson. He did not characteristically initiate conferences as did Misa; rather, they were initiated by Mr. Peterson. When conferences were underway, he seldom initiated topics, and he waited for Mr. Peterson to ask the questions, to keep the conversation moving.

Yet, to know something about Donald's view of these writing conference exchanges, of what purpose they served in his learning to write, is to have a critical lens through which to filter his apparently lopsided conversations with his teacher. In an interview, Donald said that he believed conferences with Mr. Peterson were helpful to his writing. He saw them as opportunities to "get ideas," believing that he often was stuck on what to write about and that Mr. Peterson helped him get unstuck. Thus, conferences in Donald's view were opportunities for Mr. Peterson to talk and for him to listen. In spite of Donald's view of writing conferences and in spite of Mr. Peterson's reaction to talking to Donald ("like pulling teeth," he once said), I would suggest that Donald's conferences, like Misa's, represent a kind of collaboration. Unlike Misa's, they were *subtle* collaborations, a notion that should become apparent with the following examples.

Typical for Donald was an exchange in which he and Mr. Peterson discussed his first character study, which was about his friend Chuck. I've chosen this exchange to examine because, aside from its being typical for Donald, it paralleled, for the purposes of comparison, the example taken from Misa's conferences. First, it focused on a rough draft on which Mr. Peterson had written comments (see Figure 2). And, like Misa's conference, it took place in Mr. Peterson's office. We see, then, a conference for which there was a kind of agenda, which is to say, a conference guided in part by comments already written on the student's paper. We also see two conversants interacting in a relatively private setting, away from the business of the classroom. Unlike Misa's, this conference lasted over fourteen minutes, quite long for a student who said little and who didn't seem to help make conversation easy. In the following excerpts, we see how this dialogue was enacted as Mr. Peterson dominated the conversation. Mr. Peterson was reading through Donald's essay and came to the following passage:

> Chuck's constant excuse-making causes a lot of people to become disenchanted with Chuck. For example, when he was running in a race, he complained he was pushed. Even though Chuck had no chance of winning, he just said it to have an excuse for not winning the race.

There were no written comments on this passage, but Mr. Peterson stopped reading and initiated the following:

brother, I'll probably win anyway so we might as well not play," even though he is just saying it because he is afraid he'll lose. If he is playing baseball and drops a throw that Old Mother Hubbard could have caught, he would probably say that it is a lousy throw, his mitt is bad, etc., instead of admitting his baseball skills are not exactly like that of Steve Garvey's. If he is playing basketball and his shot goes two feet above the backboard, his excuse might be the ball slipped out of his hand, someone fouled him even though probably no one even touched him, etc. These "etc" just get us the way of Chuck's constant excuse-making. Does a lot of people to become discouraged with Chuck for example, when he was running in a race, he complained that he was pushed. Even though Chuck had a chance of winning, he just said it to have an excuse for not winning the race. If someone told him that he had no chance of winning anyway, Chuck would snap back and say, "I would have whipped them if I didn't get shoved." ~~Boyle would then think that~~

Figure 2. Draft of Donald's paper on his friend Chuck, second page.

T: (1) I- (reads) "He complained that he was pushed.
(2) Even though Chuck had no chance of winning,
(3) he just said,
(4) uhm—it.
(5) To have an excuse for not winning the race."
(6) (rereads) "He complained that he was pushed.
(7) Even though Chuck had no chance of winning,
(8) he . . said it",
(9) (stops reading) uhh— (begins to compose) He gave' this excuse.
(10) Yeah.
(11) (to Donald) See then you can get rid of- see- see what happens there?
(12) Get rid- so that's the key word (referring to "excuse"),
(13) you keep that.
(14) Right?

D: (silence)

Mr. Peterson, in effect, delivered a monologue. He tried out the language of Donald's text (lines 1-5); he repeated the language, contemplating it (lines 6-8); he composed new text to replace the vague pronoun reference "it" (line 9); he told *himself* that the revision was fine (line 10); and finally, he told Donald what he had done and why he had done it (lines 11-14). Donald was silent throughout, even when Mr. Peterson asked for confirmation of his explanation (line 14: "right?"). Yet, Donald received from Mr. Peterson a revised text. We do not know whether he really accepted or understood this revision because his silence offered no clue—we may even construe the silence as simple acquiescence—but we do know that he liked Mr. Peterson to give him this kind of helpful information. It may be that silence was a way of letting such information unfold, in which case the silence, whether acceptance or acquiescence, can be construed as manipulative. In any case, Mr. Peterson had to work around the silence in order to keep up his end of the conversation (on the rules of conversation that this talk suggests, I think of both Grice, 1975, and Sacks, Schlegoff, and Jefferson, 1974), and so the information did, indeed, unfold.

The following example further illustrates this point. A few minutes later, the conference still in progress, Mr. Peterson continued to read Donald's essay and proceeded, himself, to compose on paper, reaching for a pencil to correct a verb tense problem in Donald's writing:

T: (shuffles paper)
um,
(reads) "he later",
(to Donald) Where's the pencil you gave me.
(begins to compose on paper) You expect',
(to Donald) present tense,
right?
/umhm/
(resumes composing) he knows what he's talking about.

D: (silence)

In this excerpt, Mr. Peterson became writer as well as reader of Donald's text. He raised the verb tense topic, he discussed it with minimal input from Donald (note Donald's single backchannel "umhm"), he rewrote Donald's text, "reciting" the revision in the

process of producing it—"you expect' . . . he knows what he's talking about"—and in the bargain Donald again got what he needed (or wanted), help from Mr. Peterson. Of course, as we have seen, Misa got Mr. Peterson's help also, but she negotiated it in a much more obvious way. What can we say of Donald's learning compared to Misa's?

Donald was a good student; he wrote, as indicated in Figure 2, at least at a ninth-grade level; Donald knew what was required to do well in Mr. Peterson's class. I suggest that Donald's silence was his way of participating, that is, waiting for something to happen that he knew would be helpful. True, Mr. Peterson delivered monologues with Donald. Yet when Donald listened, he witnessed a deliberative process much as a theater audience does when watching an actor deliver a monologue on stage. That is, Mr. Peterson's monologues were, as are those of the stage actor, windows on a mind at work. The actor in this case assumed the character of a writer, presumably a writer much like Donald himself. At the very least, Donald got help in hearing what he was saying.[4]

It must be admitted, however, that this interpretation of Donald's writing conference may not be entirely satisfactory without some indication that Donald was learning. To this end, it is revealing to examine Donald's collaborative work with Mr. Peterson over time and across contexts. The interactive processes of the writing conference are shaped by shifts in time and context, and "typical" processes for any individual participant have their often telling permutations (see Sperling, 1990). I will end Donald's case, then, with a look at his next conference with Mr. Peterson, held a few days later, in which the verb tense problem arose again.

In this conference, Donald sat at his desk in class, which he had pulled into a small circle of desks in order to engage in a group activity with some other students. Such groups dotted the classroom, and Mr. Peterson went from one to another to talk briefly and privately to individual students within the groups about the final drafts of their essays. The purpose of these conferences was to clarify his written comments on these final drafts. Donald's conference lasted a minute and a half. He and Mr. Peterson spoke after Mr. Peterson was finished talking to Nick, another member of Donald's group. Observing that the conversation between Mr. Peterson and Nick was over, Donald initiated his own conversation with a question to Mr. Peterson: "Um, what does this mean?" (referring to a mark on his paper). Then, with more questions, he directed Mr. Peterson's feedback to his writing:

(1) T: It just means "correct that".

(2) D: Just correct this,
And,
this'?
These paragraphs?

[. . .]

(3) T: It's mainly this "would". [i.e., the tense of the verb]
I want you to stop doing that.
Lots of times you can use "is". [i.e., "is" instead of "would"]
(reads Donald's paper) "He-" um— (to himself) let's see,
(to Donald) or just drop it out.

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[4]Not incidentally, recent research suggests that quiet and non-initiating students reap benefits as taciturn observers to the social interactions taking place among others in their classroom, a phenomenon that classroom observation alone is unable to tap (Athaneses, in progress).

[. . .]

I think that if normally a person does' (emphasizing the verb)
learn to accept,
he will'. (emphasizing the verb)
See.

(4) D: He will?

(5) T: You could say,
he will' become a better person,
yeah.

The short sequence of questions (turns 2 and 4) originated with Donald's initial question, "What does this mean," and the questions served to elicit information as well as elaboration from Mr. Peterson. In contrast to his earlier conference, this conference saw Donald as a somewhat vocal and initiating participant in creating the mini-lesson on verb tense that, in effect, this segment of talk constituted. But it was in the next part of the conference that Mr. Peterson's verb lessons seemed to have some effect. Mr. Peterson did not let the topic of verb tense drop but pointed out to Donald that the problem existed elsewhere in the paper: "And the same thing over here," he said, "only it's worse over there." (Notice how this connection-making to another part of Donald's essay parallels Misa's connection-making in her paper, except that Misa was the initiator in her conference, not Mr. Peterson.) Mr. Peterson asked Donald to read aloud from "over there" in his paper:

(1) D: (reads) "a board game,
in which the object,
is to try,
to roll five dice,
um,
all to match one number in three rows.
If you,
uh,"

(2) T: can'. (emphasizing verb)

(3) D: Oh "if you can'", (also emphasizing verb)
(realizing context of his paper and amending verb) oh "you can't'"
(emphasizing verb).

(4) T: Yeah.
Right.

(5) D: You-

(6) T: Then you what.
(composes) If you can't', (emphasizing verb)
then you, (waits for Donald to finish sentence)

(7) D: Then you'll try',

(8) T: Then you will' try,

Then you'll- you'll try',
Yeah.

(9) D: [
"Then you'll try',
to make anything that you can' with your- with your three rolls."

(10) T: Right.

(11) D: (softly) Right?

Donald read from his essay until he came to the point at which he needed to produce the correct verb form, "If you, uh," (turn 1), and Mr. Peterson offered the verb "can" (turn 2). Donald was about to accept this offer when he realized that the context of his paper dictated the negative form of the verb, that is, "can't", and he repaired the verb (turn 3). Mr. Peterson acknowledged that this repair was correct (turn 4), and Donald returned to his paper, attempting, alone, to complete the sentence. When he seemed stuck, he stopped himself ("You-", turn 5), and Mr. Peterson stepped in, scaffolding the predication in three ways. First he asked a leading question: "then you what?" Second, he reiterated the syntax Donald was working with: "If you can't'," emphasizing "can't" and therefore signalling that this verb form was to dictate the verb form of the ensuing predication. Third, he framed the ensuing predication, "then you—" (turn 6). Donald supplied the predication—"then you'll try" (turn 7); Mr. Peterson reinforced Donald's words (turn 8); and, overlapping Mr. Peterson's turn, Donald repeated the predication and completed the sentence, producing the final verb on his own—"to make anything you can' " (turn 9). The resulting sentence, drafted orally as Donald rehearsed the verb sequence modeled by Mr. Peterson, was grammatically correct and evidence that Mr. Peterson's scaffolding had worked:

> . . . a board game in which the object is to try to roll five dice, all to match one number in three rows. If you can't, then you'll try to make anything that you can with your three rolls.

Although his words were few, Donald participated with Mr. Peterson in a lesson about verb tense in order to revise his writing. That is, through Mr. Peterson Donald "heard" his own written words, and his conference became an opportunity to rehearse the information that he received from Mr. Peterson and, finally, to master ("can, no can't") the correct way to turn his sentence around. That Donald participated in his conferences in a quiet manner may not be a surprise if this manner reflected culturally derived respect for authority. As we see, his quiet manner, however, did not mean he was a non-participant.

Increasing the Options Through Conference Talk: Lisa

Like Misa, Lisa took initiative in conversation, and she also did so in class; she was often the first with an answer to a question or with a contribution to class discussion. Yet, in spite of the frequency and initiative of her interactions, she was relatively quiet in conference with Mr. Peterson, letting him do most of the talking. Lisa appeared to believe that "doing school" meant pleasing the teacher. I think that it is not incidental to her conference talk that she said of her experience in Mr. Peterson's class, "I just did everything he wanted me to . . . Most of my 'A' papers are what he wanted . . . Every time I have a teacher, there's different things about what they want you to do and what they don't want you to do. And you have to pick up new things each semester. Once you find out what they like, you just give them that specific detail."

Lisa has been described elsewhere (see Sperling & Freedman, 1987) as a teacher-pleasing student. And her conference talk, as the example below indicates, reflected her cautious "feeling out" of what Mr. Peterson wanted. Yet we can also see that conference conversation forced Lisa into a vocal collaborative role.

This day, Mr. Peterson conferred briefly with each student in the class, going from one student's desk to the next. He and the students discussed drafts of paragraph-length mini-sketches of a character in *Great Expectations*, which he had just handed back to them and on which he had written comments. Lisa's conference, during which she and Mr. Peterson discussed her writing on the character Mr. Wopsle (see Figure 3), lasted 48 seconds. Lisa was concerned, specifically, with her opening sentence and Mr. Peterson's written comment. Her sentence read:

> Mr. Wopsle's life was dominated by the way he spoke every syllable with theaterical declamation. Every word that rolled off his tounge was spoken in the deep voice he had of which he was uncommonly proud of in a melodramatic way.

Mr. Peterson wrote this comment:

> The main thing you need to do is to revise the topic sentence so it relates to everything you say below.

Lisa initiated conference talk: "I don't understand how I can change my topic sentence." Responding to her, Mr. Peterson began to explore the problem, working toward a solution that could channel Lisa into finding an answer for herself. He said:

T: Well.
Ok- you're writing about more than just uh his way of speaking.
Ok?
You know,
You're writing about his whole—,
Let's see.
What are some of the other things you get into here.
Uh—his uh-

Lisa stepped in and answered, providing the requested information:

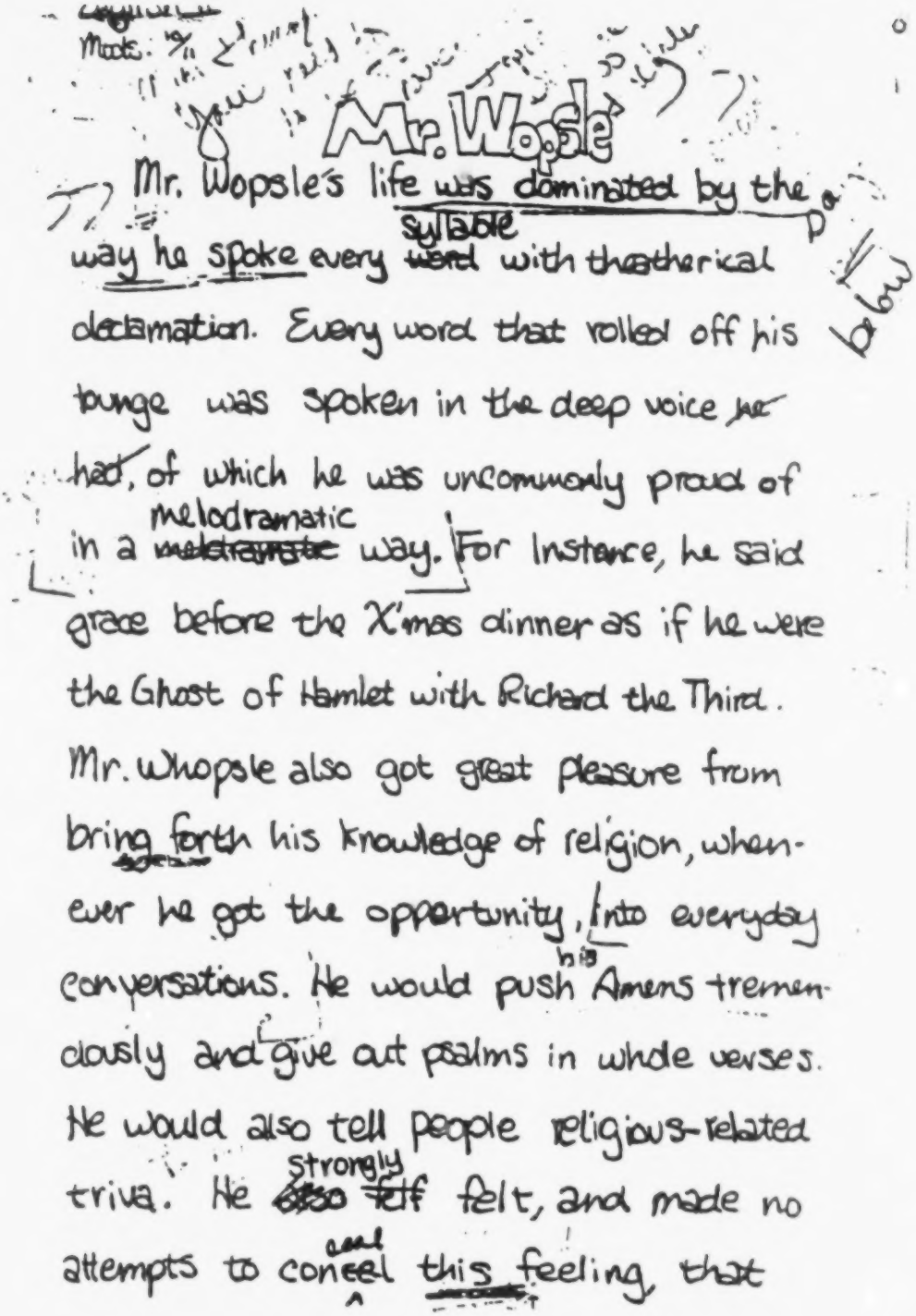
L: His personality,
mainly.

Mr. Peterson pursued this answer, asking her to extend it:

T: Well like what' though.
I mean what about his personality.

The rest of the conversation addressed the matter of Mr. Wopsle's personality and revealed what might be called a "question-within-answer" strategy on which Lisa apparently needed to lean as she helped move the conversation along:

(1) L: What he says,
to other people?


Mr. Wopsle

Mr. Wopsle's life was dominated by the way he spoke every syllable with theatrical declamation. Every word that rolled off his tounge was spoken in the deep voice he had, of which he was uncommonly proud of in a melodramatic way. For instance, he said grace before the X'mas dinner as if he were the Ghost of Hamlet with Richard the Third. Mr. Whopsle also got great pleasure from bring forth his knowledge of religion, whenever he got the opportunity, into everyday conversations. He would push his Amens tremendously and give out psalms in whole verses. He would also tell people religious-related trivia. He strongly felt, and made no attempts to conceal this feeling, that

Figure 3. Draft of Lisa's paragraph on Mr. Wopsle, first page.

(2) T: What kinds' of things does he say.

(3) L: Uhm.
how he's really religious?
and how he tries to bring that into everything
he says?

(4) T: Does that idea run through here?
Ok,
There's two ideas.
One is uh— the way uh,
his theatrical nature?
/yeah/
and the way he tries to translate the religious lesson.
Ok so you get both' those ideas into your topic sentence.
Right.
Then you have- and then afterwards make the connections.

Lisa answered Mr. Peterson's question about Mr. Wopsle's personality (turn 1), yet the question intonation in which her answer was given ("What he says to other people?") embedded within this answer another layer—the implicit question of whether this answer was a good one. In picking up on the content of her answer and not on the question intonation in which the answer was given ("What kinds of things does he say?", turn 2), Mr. Peterson tacitly indicated that her answer was in fact acceptable and that they would build from it. With her next answer (turn 3), Lisa began the routine all over again, answering Mr. Peterson while at the same time questioning the acceptability of her answer ("How he's really religious? And how he tries to bring that into everything he says?"), and Mr. Peterson again picked up on the information of the answer, not on the intonation (turn 4), again tacitly asserting that the answer was acceptable.

In one sense the conversation between Lisa and Mr. Peterson can be seen as a kind of battleground for competing motives—Lisa's to test Mr. Peterson's wants and Mr. Peterson's to get Lisa to develop and focus her writing. Yet Lisa's input, as much as Mr. Peterson's, determined how the conversation unfolded, and her hesitation, her apparent unwillingness to make a firm assertion, could be channeled by Mr. Peterson into a productive conversational move. The interest of this episode, as drama, lies in the question of whether Mr. Peterson was manipulating Lisa into discovering a useful answer for herself or whether Lisa was manipulating Mr. Peterson into giving her the answer that she could use to satisfy his expectations. Yet, pedagogically, the negotiation may have been productive for teacher and student alike: by the end of the conversation, Lisa had provided Mr. Peterson with pieces of information and had herself made possible his construction of the summary she might have been after from the start ("Ok, there's two ideas . . . " turn 4), as Mr. Peterson went on to encapsulate for her (aided by her backchannel cue after his own question intonation) the problem she was faced with, of getting two ideas into the topic sentence to reflect the two ideas she developed in her paragraph.

This information appears to be just what Lisa needed, for her rewrite of the paragraph solved the problem—though not by addressing two ideas in a topic sentence. Rather, she kept her opening sentence much as it was in the first draft, then developed just one idea in her paragraph. She dropped the idea that Mr. Wopsle tries to make everything a religious occasion and pursued instead the one idea that he is theatrical, the whole paragraph focusing on his melodrama:

> Mr. Wopsle pronounces each word that rolls off his tounge in a melodramatic fashion. For example, he says grace before the Christmas dinner as if he were the Ghost of Hamlet with Richard the Third. When he speeks in Church, he recites each word with theatherical declamation. For instance, he is fond of punching up whatever he is supposed to say with a bunch of amens and psalms in whole verses. Mr. Wopsle then scrutinizes the congregation as much as to say, "You have heard our friend overhead, oblige me with your opinion of this style."

It is ironic, I think, that in their interviews neither Mr. Peterson nor Lisa perceived that she "needed" extended teacher-student conferences. Mr. Peterson said that he felt she needed only brief talks with him—"she always caught on to what I wanted"—and brief talks were what she had. Her longest conference lasted just over three minutes. On her part, Lisa said, "Oh, I never have conferences with him. Usually it's not too helpful. Because it's just like reading his comments. You know. He's just telling it to you" (that is, giving comments in person instead of writing them on paper). In actual fact, whenever Mr. Peterson announced that he would be holding conferences with students in class, when he asked who wanted to talk to him about their drafts, Lisa invariably raised her hand before anyone else and said, "I do." As a result, he commonly began conferences with Lisa. Whatever motivated Lisa to have conferences with Mr. Peterson—or to believe that she had none—we see in the illustration above that, while her contributions were tentative, through conference talk Lisa was channeled into constructing with Mr. Peterson the content of her instruction. Conferences, then, were not like reading his comments at all. Through the give-and-take of conversation, Lisa acquired strategies to choose from to help her resee the content and organization of her prose.

CONCLUSION

Watching three student writers interact with their teacher in private conversation, we are reminded that students approach writing with a range of strategies and skills that are in large part shaped by the social settings of instruction. In examining the setting of the writing conference, which is to say, in examining the writing conference as a context for learning to write, we may see how the force of participants' conference input effectively manipulates talk and the consequences of talk as, considering not only informational needs but interactional needs as well (see Walters, 1984),[5] participants enact the dramas of composing.

We see, too, that the variety that marks the social processes of writing can be invoked in the service of students' learning and development. Misa, Donald, and Lisa all needed the many opportunities they were given by Mr. Peterson for conversation during writing. The differing ways in which they encountered their teacher may have reflected in part differing notions of their student roles, personal ease in engaging an adult interlocutor or authority figure, or willingness to verbalize their writing efforts to a more experienced teacher. But the analysis strongly suggests that this variety reflected, too, that individual composing processes are marked by diverse and changing encounters with others.

Misa initiated much of her talk with Mr. Peterson, readily verbalized writing problems, and actively talked through solutions. For her, Mr. Peterson appeared to serve as a guiding and parrying counterpoint against whom to test ideas, with whom to unravel knots. Yet I would suggest that Mr. Peterson's talk with Misa, while most prototypically collaborative and most comfortable for Mr. Peterson to carry off, was no more "normal,"

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[5]I am indebted to Keith Walters for helping to illuminate this notion of "manipulation" in the conference context.

no more a reflection of student engagement in the process of learning to write than the talk between Mr. Peterson and Donald or Lisa.

Donald was a hesitant conversant for whom vocal participation in teacher-student conversation ran counter to the stance he assumed in relation to Mr. Peterson. Yet while Mr. Peterson did not relish talking to Donald, neither did he deny Donald opportunities for conversation to take place throughout the weeks that Donald spent writing his three character studies. Donald had at least as many conversations with Mr. Peterson about his writing as did most other students in the study, and it appeared that it was this very multiplicity of opportunities for talk that allowed Donald the chance to vary, however subtly, his interactions with his interlocutor, to vary the content and character of these classroom-supported deliberations, which were "inserted" into his composing process. For Donald, Mr. Peterson appeared to represent the inevitable outside voice that tests and constrains communication whether one asks for it or not.

Lisa, in this analysis, was the child-in-between. She had fewer conversations with Mr. Peterson than did Misa, but she invariably initiated these conversations herself after Mr. Peterson issued a general invitation for students to talk to him about their writing. While these conversations in Lisa's mind were little more than living versions of the comments that Mr. Peterson wrote in the margins of her papers, in fact her exchanges with Mr. Peterson opened up alternatives for her to explore as she went about the business of writing. For Lisa, Mr. Peterson represented opportune encounters with writing choices, choices that could be either embraced or dismissed but that gave substance and form to Lisa's own decision making.

Implications of the Study

The need for dialogue that is finely tuned to individual learners does not go "underground" after the elementary years, although many secondary classes suggest to observers that that is the case. One implication of this study for classroom practice is that it makes little sense either for students or for the teacher working with them to attempt to homogenize instructional talk, that there is no pedagogical point to packaging and promoting "preferred patterns" of interaction (on the tendency to "package" instruction, see Heath, 1989). Interactional patterns reflect the participants involved and their situated encounters; these variables are, by their nature, changeable. Because such talk serves writing, it furthermore makes little sense if the flexibility that marks the talk does not also mark the written product. As we saw with Mr. Peterson and Lisa, while Mr. Peterson wanted his students to see more than one side of the person or character that they were writing about, he never imposed on them a canned or formulaic essay; his conceptions of their final products were formed only at the point at which he saw the final products himself—that is, he held no preconceptions for his students' varied goals for their writing or for their ideas. Instruction and composing were intertwined and evolving processes.

Another implication of this study is that productive talk need not be extended or memorable talk. As writing instructors, we often remember, sometimes for years, the conversations about student writing that seem to us to go well, that are, in our minds, provocative and engaging to the extent that teacher and student participate in sustained and evolving exchange. Yet such pleasant memories are not "bottom-line" measures of instructional success—the conversations that go unnoticed by instructors and also by students, the fleeting exchanges to which participants may attach little importance, can carry a weight of their own.

I will illustrate this point and at the same time end this article by returning to the central question that Lonoff's struggle brought to mind at the article's beginning: what are

conceivable classroom analogues to the writer's tacit deliberative discourse? I present Misa, once more, talking to Mr. Peterson about a sentence that she was considering "turning around."

Misa, this time, worked with a small group of peers. Their focus was their current assignment, to write, individually, paragraph-long character studies of a group-chosen figure from Dickens' *Great Expectations*. Misa's group had chosen to write about the convict. Before writing their individual paragraphs, however, the group worked together on providing information to fill in a chart on the convict, covering (a) how he looks, including what he wears, (b) what his moves and mannerisms are, (c) what others say about him, (d) what he does, and (e) what he says. This information served as material that group members could draw on when writing their paragraphs.

The conversation that I present here came about as Misa's group responded to one another's paragraphs on the day first drafts were due. In their groups, the students were engaged in giving one another feedback on the efficacy of the topic sentences and supporting evidence in their paragraphs. This group exchange revealed a knotty problem for Misa, a problem that others in her group shared: Misa was faced with reconciling what she had written in her paragraph—which centered on the convict's actions—with what she and the group collectively inferred to be workable texts for this assignment—that is, if the chart was any indication, their paragraphs should probably have covered looks as well as deeds. But the paragraph Misa had written, with a topic sentence that presented the convict as a "ruffian," made no mention of the convict's appearance:

> The convict in the "Great Expectations" is a ruffian. He threatens Pip with a story he has made up to keep Pip under his thumb. For example, to ensure that Pip obeys his order to get him a file and some "wittles", he tells Pip that he has a young man with him who will tear out Pip's heart and liver if Pip betrays the convict in any way. In addition, the convict tells Pip that compare to the young man, the convict himself is an angel When ever the convict questions Pip, he often stares hard into the boy's eyes and roughly grasping on Pip's limbs or clothing. For instance, the convict tilts Pip down time after time to glare at Pip until he promises to do as he orders. Also, when Pip informs the convict he has seen the young man. The convict seizes Pip by the collar and stares at him for further explainations.

When group members considered Misa's paragraph, they were concerned, first, that the topic sentence and supporting text work as a unit:

S1: But does everything lend to the topic sentence though?

S2: I think so.

S3: Well maybe you could add a little bit more to the topic sentence . . . like the cause and effect.

But when Misa tried to revise the topic sentence, she encountered an unforeseen dilemma. Said Misa:

> How should I do it? Like (composes) "the convict in *Great Expectations* is a ruffian because of the way he acts and the way he's dressed"? Then I'd have to add, you know, how he is dressed (in her paragraph).

Misa suggested to her peers that she figure it out with Mr. Peterson. "Should I ask him?" she said. And she did. Without disengaging herself from her peers, she attracted Mr. Peterson's attention and began a conversation:

> Mr. Peterson, does the discussion of the clothing he wears kind of contribute to the uhm the topic sentence? Do I have to add how he is dressed? Cause all I describe (now) is actions.

When Mr. Peterson answered that talking about the convict's clothing was probably not relevant to her paragraph, Misa uttered a surprised "No?" which her peers echoed. Refining Misa's topic sentence had raised a question for them that had as much to do with following what they perceived as "the assignment" (the chart) as it did with rhetorical choices. Misa's "No?" effectively forced Mr. Peterson to think more about the writing strategies—and assignment—under discussion. He pondered:

P: Well, you mean his dress.

M: Yeah, the way he dresses.

P: Well, if you want to say he gives the impres'sion of being a ruffian, see the difference?

Mr. Peterson was making a fine distinction here, but it was only through this distinction that clothing became relevant to Misa's paragraph. The rhetorical subtlety effectively steered Misa into deliberation:

M: Like how he looks outwardly. But right now in the paragraph, all I'm trying to put is just his manner, just how he acts. That's it.

Mr. Peterson reasserted his original response to her, that dress, then, was "a little bit irrelevant." Misa responded, ending the exchange with her own summing up of how she would handle her draft:

> Ok. So I just leave it . . the way it is.

This fleeting moment of talk—the conversation lasted for exactly one minute, one second—allowed Misa to examine a rhetorical strategy that to her and to her peers had begun to look problematic in light of their reading of the assignment and to work through a solution that was, in fact, compatible with—and had the effect of confirming—her original plans. She had engaged, within a forgettable moment, in a dialogue of deliberating about text. It was a dialogue that also engaged her fellow students and one that she appeared, in her final declaration, to begin to engage in with herself.

When we look at interactions such as these teacher-student conversations, we begin to understand how the instructional process of talk contributes to the deliberative process that marks composing. We may forget the talk as soon as the moment of talk is passed; the talk may not be visibly reflected in the essay drafts that students produce. Yet I suggest that talk is lurking in these drafts nonetheless and that the cognitive drama of one's composing processes is crowded with the often fleeting shadows of others. The research that has led us to consider composing processes as functions of social context must open up the full range of educational settings to examine the ways in which interactions in different learning contexts privilege different ways of encountering "the other." For how one may fully and richly encounter those others in the process of learning to write in school is what writing pedagogy must really be about.

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Appendix 1: Transcription Key

Falling intonation	. at end of line
Rising intonation	, at end of line
Question intonation	? at end of line
Emphatic stress	' on stressed syllable
Overlapping speech	[
Latched speech (i.e, no perceptible pause between speaker turns)	=
Long perceptible pause	. . .
Short perceptible pause	. .
Backchannels (i.e., listener's vocal monitoring of speaker's talk)	/between slashes/
Short or jerky syllable	-
Elongated syllable	—
Tape was unclear	(uc)
Editorial ellipses	[. . .]

Lines of talk represent "intonation units," as described by Chafe (1982).

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